

## Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-14 EA-09 EUR-12 NEA-10 IO-14

ISO-00 ERDA-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NASA-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02 PA-02

PRS-01 OES-07 SS-15 USIA-15 /154 W

-----067292 240123Z /20

R 221624Z JUN 77

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8501

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY WELLINGTON

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 4 GENEVA 5063

E.O. 11652: NA

TAGS: PARM CCD

SUBJECT: SEABED ARMS CONTROL REVIEW CONFERENCE: SECOND AND THIRD

PLENARY SESSIONS, JUNE 21, 1977

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1. SUMMARY: BASED ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE  
GENERAL COMMITTEE, THE SEABED ARMS CONTROL TREATY REVIEW  
CONFERENCE ADOPTED ITS PROGRAM OF WORK. GENERAL DEBATE  
WAS OPENED, AND STATEMENTS WERE MADE BY THE US, UK,  
USSR, THE NETHERLANDS, SWEDEN, ROMANIA, AND DENMARK.  
THE US, UK, DENMARK AND THE USSR PRAISED THE TREATY,

BUT THE SOVIET REP SUGGESTED THAT CCD CONSIDER FURTHER MEASURES. THE NETHERLANDS, SWEDEN, AND ROMANIA EXPRESSED INTEREST IN A THOROUGH CONSIDERATION OF RELEVANT TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS, WITH THE NETHERLANDS MENTIONING THE NEED FOR NAVAL LIMITATIONS, AND WITH SWEDEN AND ROMANIA EMPHASIZING THE DESIRABILITY OF WORKING OUT FURTHER LIMITATIONS ON MILITARY USES OF THE SEABED. END SUMMARY

2. REVCON PRESIDENT (WYZNER OF POLAND) OPENED THE MEETING WITH A REPORT OF GENERAL COMMITTEE'S PROPOSAL REGARDING THE REVCON'S PROGRAM OF WORK, AS FOLLOWS:

A. GENERAL DEBATE DURING MORNING AND AFTERNOON PLENARY MEETINGS, TO BE COMPLETED ON THURSDAY, JUNE 23.

B. IN PLENARY ON FRIDAY, JUNE 24, BEGIN ARTICLE-BY-ARTICLE REVIEW OF THE OPERATION OF THE TREATY, FOLLOWED BY A REVIEW OF PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPHS.

C. THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE WILL HOLD ITS INITIAL ORGANIZATIONAL MEETING ON JUNE 24, AND WILL START SUBSTANTIVE WORK ON MONDAY, JUNE 27. IF NECESSARY, THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE MAY MEET DURING THE TIME THAT PLENARY SESSIONS ARE BEING HELD, BUT IF SO INTERPRETER SERVICES WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE.  
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D. THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE SHOULD AIM TO COMPLETE ITS WORK ON A FINAL DOCUMENT OR DOCUMENTS BY WEDNESDAY, JUNE 29.

E. ON JUNE 30 THE PLENARY SHOULD EXAMINE THE DRAFT DOCUMENT OR DOCUMENTS.

F. THE FINAL DAY OF THE REVCON, FRIDAY, JULY 1, SHOULD BE DEVOTED TO THE ADOPTION OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT OR DOCUMENTS, AND CONCLUDING ACTIVITIES.

3. THE REVCON PRESIDENT NOTED THAT UNER RULE 35, DELEGATIONS PROPOSING TEXTS WHICH ARE REFERRED TO THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE SHALL BE ENTITLED TO PARTICIPATE, AT THEIR REQUEST, IN THE DISCUSSION OF THOSE TEXTS IN THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE. THE REVCON APPROVED THE PROPOSAL OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE AS OUTLINED ABOVE.

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INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-14 EA-09 EUR-12 NEA-10 IO-14

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FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8502

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

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4. US REP (SLOSS) OPENED THE GENERAL DEBATE BY STATING  
THE US BELIEF THAT THE SEABEDS ARMS CONTROL TREATY HAS  
OPERATED EFFECTIVELY WITH RESPECT TO ITS PRIMARY PURPOSE  
OF PROHIBITING THE EMPLACEMENT OF NUCLEAR AND OTHER  
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WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION ON THE OCEAN FLOOR, AND  
EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE REVCON WILL COME TO THE  
SAME CONCLUSION. SINCE THE US SEES NO SEABEDS ARMS RACE

AT PRESENT, AND LITTLE PROSPECT FOR ONE IN THE FUTURE, US REP DECLARED THAT FURTHER WORK ON MULTILATERAL ARMS CONTROL MEASURES FOCUSING EXCLUSIVELY ON THE SEABED IS NOT JUSTIFIED AT THIS TIME. NEVERTHELESS THE US REP INDICATED OUR WILLINGNESS TO CONSIDER PROPOSALS BY OTHERS FOR STRENGTHENING THE OPERATION OF THE TREATY, AND TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE MEANS OF DEALING WITH SUCH PROPOSALS, PERHAPS IN THE CONTEXT OF THE REVCON'S FINAL DOCUMENT. ALTHOUGH THE TREATY'S VERIFICATION PROCEDURES MIGHT BE IMPROVED BY TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE PROVISIONS OF AGREEMENTS MORE RECENTLY NEGOTIATED, US REP STATED, THE USG IS NOT CONVINCED THAT MODIFICATIONS OR ADDITIONS WOULD BE USEFUL AT THIS TIME. WITH RESPECT TO THE QUESTION OF TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS, US REP INDICATED THAT THE US HAS NOT IDENTIFIED ANY SUCH DEVELOPMENTS WHICH WOULD AFFECT EITHER THE PURPOSES OR THE SPECIFIC PROVISIONS OF THE TREATY.

5. UK REP (ASHE) STATED THAT THE SEABEDS ARMS CONTROL TREATY HAS BEEN A USEFUL PRE-EMPTIVE MEASURE, MAKING THE OCEAN FLOOR A MASSIVE ZONE FREE OF NUCLEAR AND OTHER WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION, COVERING TWO-THIRDS OF THE WORLD'S SURFACE. DECLARING THAT THE VERY SUCCESS OF THE TREATY HAS OBSCURED ITS MERITS, UK REP EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE REVCON WILL COMMEND IT. STATING THAT THE UK SEES NO NEED FOR REVISION OR EXTENSION, UK REP SAID THAT THE BRITISH DELEGATION WOULD LISTEN WITH GREAT INTEREST TO ANY WHO MAY BELIEVE THAT THEY CAN DEMONSTRATE THAT THERE IS A REASONABLE PROSPECT FOR FURTHER CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION IN THIS FIELD.  
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6. USSR REP (ISSRAELYAN) STATED THAT NO SINGLE TREATY CAN ELIMINATE THE PROSPECT OF NUCLEAR WAR, AND THAT ACCORDINGLY A STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH IS NECESSARY. INDICATING THAT THE TREATY HAS FAVORABLE AFFECTED THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AS A WHOLE, USSR REP EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT ITS MAIN OBLIGATIONS HAVE BEEN FAITHFULLY RESPECTED AND THAT NO DOUBTS HAVE ARISEN WHICH HAVE CAUSED ANY STATE PARTY TO MAKE USE OF THE TREATY'S PROVISIONS FOR VERIFICATION. THE SOVIET REP SUGGESTED THAT THE REVCON CALL ON STATES WHICH ARE NOT PARTIES TO THE TREATY TO ADHERE TO IT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. DECLARING THAT THE SEABEDS TREATY IS ONLY THE FIRST IMPORTANT STEP TOWARD COMPLETE DEMILITARIZATION, SOVIET REP STATED THAT THE USSR IS READY TO NEGOTIATE AN ADDITIONAL AGREEMENT OR AGREEMENTS TO BAN THE EMPLACEMENT ON THE SEABEDS OF MILITARY OBJECTS NOT COVERED BY THE EXISTING TREATY, AND INDICATED THAT

THE REVCON COULD INVITE THE CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE  
ON DISARMAMENT (CCD) TO DEVELOP FURTHER MEASURES.  
SOVIET REP ALSO NOTED THAT CUBA HAD BECOME MOST RECENT  
PARTY TO THE TREATY BY DEPOSITING INSTRUMENT OF  
ACCESSION IN MOSCOW. COMMENT: CUBA IS NOT, HOWEVER,  
ATTENDING REVCON. END COMMENT.

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INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-14 EA-09 EUR-12 NEA-10 IO-14  
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R 221624Z JUN 77

FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8503  
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
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7. NETHERLANDS REP (VAN DER KLAUW) EXPRESSED  
DISAPPOINTMENT THAT THE REVCON HAS NOT BEEN PROVIDED  
WITH ANY INFORMATION ON RELEVANT TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOP-

MENTS, (CALLING FOR A FRANK DISCUSSION OF SEABEDS-  
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RELATED ISSUES, PRESENT AND FUTURE.) REGRETTING THAT THE SMALL COUNTRIES WHICH ARE PARTIES LACK THE MEANS TO DETECT A VIOLATION AND THEREBY DEPEND ON THE GREAT POWERS, NETHERLANDS REP REPEATED THE NETHERLANDS' 1973 PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH AN INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT AGENCY. MENTIONING LAW OF THE SEA DISCUSSIONS RELATING TO THE 200-MILE ECONOMIC ZONE, THE NETHERLANDS REP CALLED FOR THE REVCON'S FINAL DECLARATION TO INCLUDE A STATEMENT THAT VERIFICATION RIGHTS UNDER ARTICLE III(1) OF THE SEABEDS TREATY WOULD NOT BE AFFECTED. MENTIONING THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS AND THE PROPOSAL FOR AN INDIAN OCEAN PEACE ZONE, NETHERLANDS REP STATED THAT THE SEABEDS TREATY HAS NOT AFFECTED THE ARMS RACE IN THE OCEAN, AND THAT IT WOULD BE WORTHWHILE TO CONSIDER HOW THIS ARMS RACE COULD BE RESTRICTED FOR THE BENEFIT OF MANKIND.

8. SWEDISH REP (SANDSTROM) DECLARED THAT IT ESSENTIALLY HAD BEEN THE PROVISION FOR REVIEW CONFERENCES AND THE COMMITMENT TO UNDERTAKE NEGOTIATIONS IN GOOD FAITH ON FURTHER MEASURES WHICH HAD PERSUADED SWEDEN TO BECOME A PARTY TO THE SEABED TREATY, AND THAT SHARED RESPONSIBILITY AND SHARED INFORMATION ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE FULFILLMENT OF THE TREATY'S OBLIGATIONS. FOR THIS REASON, SWEDISH REP INDICATED IT WOULD NOT BE REASONABLE TO INSIST THAT THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH DO NOT POSSESS THE RELEVANT TECHNOLOGY SHOULD GIVE EVIDENCE THAT THE MILITARY USE OF THE SEABED HAS IN FACT INCREASED, OR THAT THEY SHOULD SPECIFY THE CHARACTER OF POSSIBLE OPERATIONS. STATING THAT UNDERWATER TECHNOLOGY IN GENERAL IS RELEVANT TO THE REVIEW PROCESS, THE SWEDISH REP DECLARED THAT SUCH AN EXAMINATION WOULD BE NECESSARY IN ORDER TO EVALUATE THE CONTINUED  
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SUFFICIENCY OF THE TREATY'S SCOPE OF PROHIBITION, IMPROVEMENTS IN VERIFICATION CAPABILITIES, AND THE ADVISABILITY OF NEGOTIATIONS ON FURTHER LIMITATIONS IN THE NEAR FUTURE. EXPRESSING INTEREST IN THE VERIFICATION FORMULATIONS DEVELOPED DURING THE COURSE OF 1976 NEGOTIATIONS ON THE ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION (ENMOD) CONVENTION, SWEDISH REP INDICATED AN OPEN MIND ON WHETHER PROVISIONS FOR A CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF

EXPERTS SHOULD BE ADDED TO THE SEABEDS TREATY. ON THE  
ISSUE OF A SUBSEQUENT REVIEW CONFERENCE, THE SWEDISH REP  
DECLARED IT NATURAL FOR THIS REVCON TO FIX THE DATE.  
SWEDISH REP CONCLUDED BY STATING THAT THE PRESENT  
TREATY IS NOT THE FINAL STAGE IN LIMITING MILITARY  
ACTIVITIES ON THE SEABED.

9. ROMANIAN REP (ENE) STATED THAT ROMANIA REMAINS  
CONVINCED OF THE POSITIVE VALUE OF THE SEABEDS TREATY  
AND THAT ANY MEASURE IS WORTHY OF SUPPORT IF IT REDUCES  
THE DANGER OF EXTENDING THE ARMS RACE, ESPECIALLY THE  
NUCLEAR ARMS RACE. THIS BELIEF, ROMANIAN REP STATED,  
WAS PARTLY BASED ON THE FACT THAT THE TREATY WAS  
CONCEIVED AS FIRST STEP, AND ON THE OBLIGATION WHICH  
PARTIES UNDERTOOK TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS IN GOOD FAITH  
TOWARD FURTHER DISARMAMENT MEASURES TO PREVENT A

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SEABEDS ARMS RACE. ROMANIA DRAWS THREE BASIC CONCLUSIONS  
WITH RESPECT TO THE TREATY'S OPERATIONS: FIRST, THAT  
THERE HAVE BEEN FEW EVENTS LINKED TO THE TREATY SINCE  
ITS ENTRY INTO FORCE -- THUS THE TREATY'S PROVISIONS  
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HAVE BEEN OBSERVED, BUT THERE HAS BEEN NO MEANS OF  
ENSURING THAT INFORMATION ON UNDERWATER TECHNOLOGY IS  
AVAILABLE TO ALL PARTIES; SECOND, THAT NEGOTIATIONS ON  
FURTHER MEASURES HAVE NOT TAKEN PLACE, AND THUS THAT IT  
MAY STRONGLY BE FEARED THAT THE LIMITED SCOPE OF THE  
TREATY HAS BEEN TAKEN AS A SIGNAL FOR CARRYING ON A  
CONVENTIONAL ARMS RACE AT SEA; THIRD, THAT THE  
CONVENTIONAL ARMS RACE AT SEA HAS REDUCED OCEAN SPACE  
AVAILABLE FOR PEACEFUL USES, AND THAT IF CONTINUED THIS  
SITUATION WOULD RESULT IN MAKING THE INEQUALITY AMONG  
COUNTRIES PERMANENT, IN CREATING NEW SOURCES OF TENSION,  
AND IN STIMULATING THE WASTE OF RESOURCES. THE  
ROMANIAN REP RECOMMENDED A THREE-PART PROGRAM OF PRACTICAL  
ACTION AS AN OUTCOME OF THE REVCON: (A) CREATING, UNDER  
UN AEGIS, AN EVALUATION AND DISSEMINATION SYSTEM FOR  
INFORMATION ON TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS RELATING TO THE  
SEABEDS; (B) BEGINNING NEGOTIATIONS ON FURTHER MEASURES  
WITHOUT DELAY (MEASURES FOR A COMPLETE BAN ON NUCLEAR  
ACTIVITIES ON THE SEABEDS OF A MILITARY CHARACTER, FOR A  
PROHIBITION ON EMPLACING NEW CONVENTIONAL BASES OR  
INSTALLATIONS ON THE SEABEDS, AND FOR THE DISMANTLING OF  
EXISTING NAVAL BASES); (C) ENCOURAGING SUCH CONFIDENCE-  
BUILDING MEASURES AS NOTIFICATION OF AND INVITATION OF  
OBSERVERS TO SIGNIFICANT NAVAL MANEUVERS, THE NEGOTIATION  
OF AGREEMENTS RENOUNCING NAVAL MANEUVERS (ESPECIALLY THOSE  
INCLUDING NUCLEAR UNITS AND THOSE PLANNED TO OCCUR IN  
ZONES OF MARITIME TRAFFIC), AND THE CREATION OF PEACE ZONES  
IN DIFFERENT SEA AND OCEAN REGIONS.

10. DANISH REP (SCHON) STATED THAT DURING SEABEDS TREATY  
NEGOTIATIONS IT BECAME APPARENT THAT THERE WAS NO PROSPECT  
OF A BROADER AGREEMENT, AND THAT THUS DENMARK HAD CONCLUDED  
THAT THE FORMULATION OF THE EXISTING TREATY IS WORTHWHILE.  
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DURING THE FIVE YEARS SINCE ITS ENTRY INTO FORCE, THE DANISH REP STATED, THE SEABEDS TREATY HAS DEMONSTRATED ITS RAISON D'ETRE AND HAS SERVED ITS PURPOSE, PRECLUDING A NUCLEAR ARMS RACE ON THE SEABEDS. DANISH REP SUGGESTED THAT THE FINAL DECLARATION OF THE REVCON INCLUDE AN APPEAL FOR UNIVERSAL ADHERENCE. DENMARK ATTACHES GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE OBLIGATION FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS, BUT FOR NOW THE SAME DIFFICULTIES WHICH MADE WIDER ENGAGEMENTS IMPOSSIBLE AT THE TIME OF THE ORIGINAL NEGOTIATIONS MAY STILL EXIST. ON THE QUESTION OF CONVENING FURTHER REVIEW CONFERENCES, THE DANISH REP SUGGESTED THAT AFTER FIVE YEARS A MAJORITY OF PARTIES BE ABLE TO OBTAIN THE CONVENING OF A REVCON UPON REQUEST, AND THAT AFTER TEN YEARS THE NUMBER OF REQUESTING PARTIES BE REDUCED TO TEN.SORENSEN

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## Message Attributes

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**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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